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Data on *Zawīyas* in Contemporary Zanzibar

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In 1832, Zanzibar had become the capital of the Bu Said dynasty (the present Oman) as well as the center of Islamic studies in East Africa. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, many *tariqas*¹⁾ emerged and contributed to the Islamization of the people living along the coast and trade routes in this area. However, previous research has not examined the *tariqas*' activities and their participation in Islamic daily life in East Africa²⁾.

Therefore, I made a field study on *zawīyas* (retreats for Sufi activities) in Zanzibar (Unguja, Tumbatu and Pemba Island) from September 17th, 2006 to December 17th, 2006³⁾. I obtained basic information about the *tariqas* through interviews with the *tariqa* leaders of 50 *zawīyas*. (see the following list).

The mark “✓” means that the things or practices exist, while the mark “×” means that they do not exist. The word “unknown” means that the informant answered that he or she has no information about the question. When I couldn't find an opportunity to get the information about some questions I left these as blank spaces in this list. I have made it one of my future tasks to complete the information to these columns. Furthermore, I am also planning to enlarge this list by interviewing the leaders of *zawīyas* whom I didn't interview this time.

The items from row A to row H are the basic information about the *tariqas*. The items from row I to row M are the information related to their practices. The items of row N and row O are about the leader's religious and social role. The items of row P and row Q are about the role of *tariqas* in the located areas. About item Q, the mark “×” includes 2 cases: 1. Buildings of *wakfu* (Ar: *waqf*, endowment) do not exist, 2. There are buildings for the use of *tariqas* such as *zawīyas*, but not as *wakfu*. About the item R, I asked about the existence of a female leader. If there is one, it also indicates the existence of female members' activities, because female members usually do their activities at the other places than those of male members. The item X₁ is the date of the anniversary of the famous leader's memorial celebration, I'll talk about this later in detail. The items from row X₂ to row U are questions about whether they perform *zikri* (Ar: *dhikr*, the remembrance of God) on such occasions.

As shown in the list, I found that there are about 130 *zawīyas* in Zanzibar. Moreover, almost all of them are *zawīyas* of *Qadiriyya* (Ar: *al-Ṭarīqa al-Qādirīya*). *Qadiriyya* was introduced from

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- 1) The italic words are basically Swahili. If the word originated from Arabic and the spelling is different from Arabic, I wrote it in parenthesis with the meaning. ex). *wakfu* (Ar: *waqf*, endowment)
- 2) Trimingham(1964), a basic book about Islam in East Africa, said, “it is difficult to estimate the influence of the orders among the Swahili. What is clear is that they affect only a small proportion of the population directly”[Trimingham 1964: 97]. After Trimingham, researchers have confirmed his view. But in his research, Nimtz mentioned the political activities of *tariqas*' leaders at the time of the independence of Tanganyika (the present Tanzania). He, however, has not mentioned the activities of the general members, regular practices and religious events.
- 3) This research became possible due to the financial support of the Grant-in-Aid for the 21st Century COE and the Matsushita International Foundation.

the southern part of Somalia by Uways b. Muhammad al-Barawi (1847-1909). According to Mr. Mohammed Idris Mohammed Saleh (1934-)⁴⁾, the *tariqas* of *Kijiti*, *Kirama* and *Kigumi*, which are active in the northern part of Zanzibar, derive from *Qadiriyya*. However, even if this is historically true, it is questionable whether we can regard them as branches of *Qadiriyya* because they themselves do not think so.

As for *Nakshbandiyya* (Ar: *al-Ṭarīqa al-Naqshbandīya*), previous researchers have not mentioned them in detail because they didn't see the *tariqas* activities for themselves but obtained their information only indirectly. In my research, I found that there are some *zawiyas* of *Nakshbandiyya* which are as active as other *tariqas*.

Although there are various *tariqas* in Zanzibar, there are few differences between their activities even if their historical backgrounds are different. I recall one of the *tariqa* leaders telling me that while the practical methods of *tariqas* may differ from each other, their aim to struggle to be closer to the God is the same.

In many cases, the leaders of *tariqas* are engaged in agriculture in the areas where they were born and grew up (see row C and row N). Most of the leaders said that they didn't know the exact number of members because they hadn't recorded the names of members who had enrolled in their *tariqas*. But they guessed the number to be from tens to hundreds (see row H).

When more than 30 persons come, it is difficult for them to perform *zikri* inside the *zawiyas* because in most cases they are too small, so many *tariqas* have open spaces for performing *zikri* adjacent to the *zawiyas* (see row I).

Regarding their social role, some *tariqas* are running Qur'anic schools (see row P). In Zanzibar, children of 5-8 years old go to Qur'anic schools in order to learn the basic knowledge of Islam and reading and writing Arabic. However, in these Qur'anic schools, the teachers teach not only basic knowledge but also *zikri* and texts to praising the Prophet Muhammad which have been written by some famous leaders.

The biggest event for *tariqas* is the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (see row X2). In the period of the celebration⁵⁾ almost all *tariqas* in Zanzibar perform *zikri*. Many people who are not the members of *tariqas* also take part in such *zikri* celebrations.

At each *zawiya* they also perform *zikri* on the date⁶⁾ of the anniversary of the famous leader's memorial day. It is called "*ziara*"⁶⁾ (see row X1 and row X3). On *ziara* days, even the members of other related *zawiyas* join the celebration in a group. If the leader had trained many disciples, many followers of the disciples gather from various places and it becomes a big event. They perform *zikri* for 4-5 hours from midnight to early morning in the open air. I had a chance to participate in a *ziara*. In the evening the *tariqa* members got onto an open train and performed *zikri* for about two hours until they reach their destination. After arriving, they eat pilaf, which is served as *sadaka* (Ar:

4) He is a specialist in Islam, especially *tariqas* in Zanzibar. He was engaged in educational activities in Zanzibar. Since his retirement he has been running a private Islamic Madrasat Relief Organization from his house.

5) In the other parts of the Islamic world, the celebration is held only on the exact day of the Prophet's birth from the eve to the next morning. In Zanzibar, however, it is held for about three weeks from the evening of the day of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.

6) In other parts of the Islamic world, the Arabic word *ziyāra* commonly means to visit the tombs of famous Islamic saints.

ṣadaqa, voluntary alms, a charitable gift), and then they lay their mats on the ground outside and sleep on them. They wake up at 1 a.m. and eat some more pilaf to get energy to perform the *zikri*. At dawn their *zikri* reaches its climax, and at last they perform *dua* (Ar: du‘ā’, supplication). On their way home on the train, they perform *zikri* again.

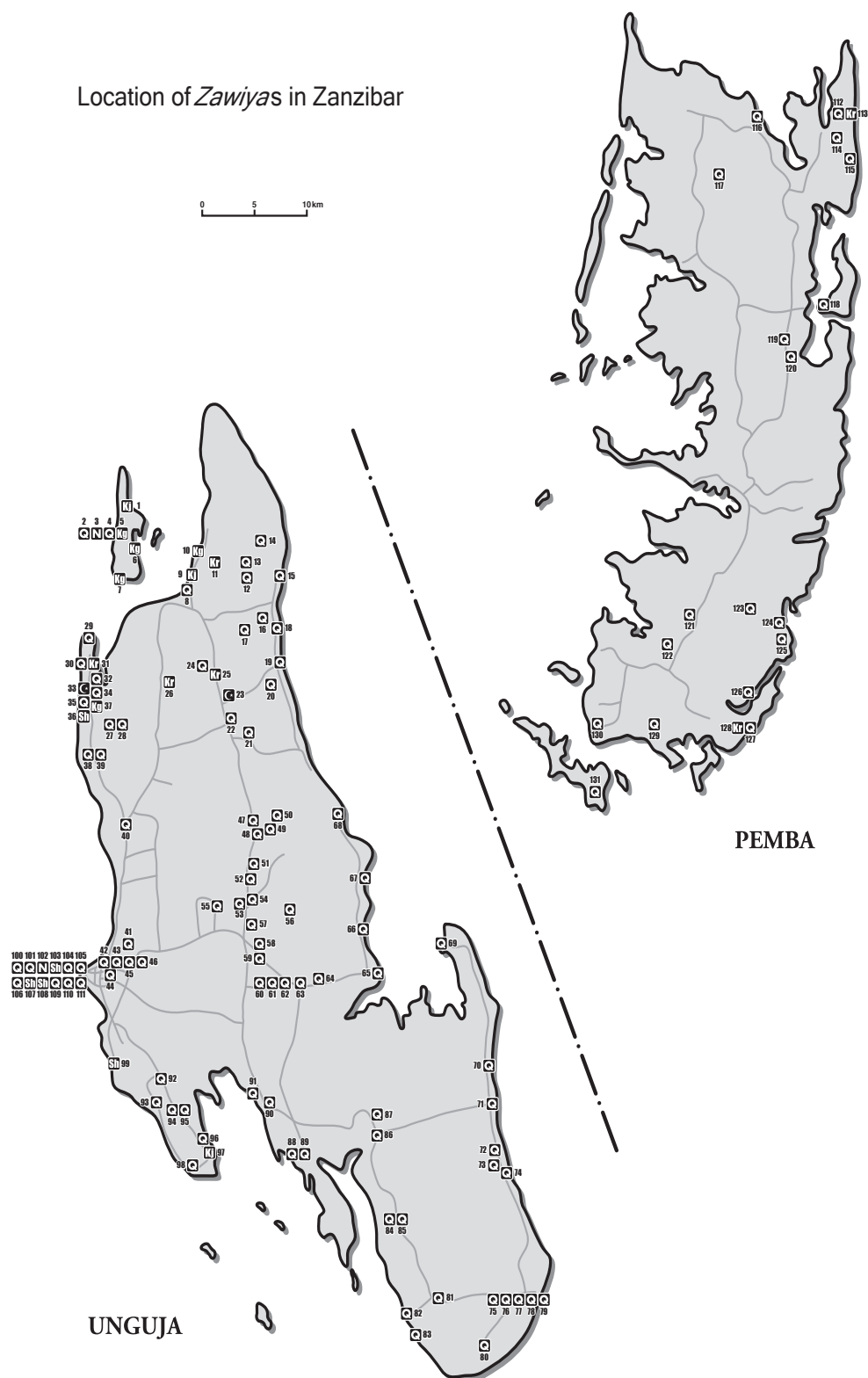
The aim of this research was to grasp the whole image of *tariqas* in Zanzibar. As a next step I am planning to focus on a *Qadiriyya zawiya* in M district, whose late leader had trained many followers and contributed to the spread *Qadiriyya* to many areas in Zanzibar. I will pay attention to the present leader’s daily activities, his social role and human relations as well as the activities of his *zawiya*.

† Swahili Lunar Calendar

In East African Coast, they follow their original lunar calendar when they hold religious events. The year ends with *Ramadhani*, and the following month is called *Mfunguo mosi*, the first releasing, and is followed by *mfunguo pili*, the second releasing, up to *mfunguo tisa*, the ninth releasing. Arabic names used for the three months, *Rajabu*, *Shaabani*, and *Ramadhani*.

Swahili lunar calendar	hijra calendar
<i>Mfunguo mosi</i> (1st month)	<i>Shawwāl</i> (10th month)
<i>Mfunguo pili</i> (2nd month)	<i>Dhū al-Qa‘da</i> (11th month)
<i>Mfunguo tatu</i> (3rd month)	<i>Dhū al-Ḥijja</i> (12th month)
<i>Mfunguo nne</i> (4th month)	<i>Muḥarram</i> (1st month)
<i>Mfunguo tano</i> (5th month)	<i>Ṣafar</i> (2nd month)
<i>Mfunguo sita</i> (6th month)	<i>Rabī‘ al-Awwal</i> (3rd month)
<i>Mfunguo saba</i> (7th month)	<i>Rabī‘ al-Thānī</i> (4th month)
<i>Mfunguo nane</i> (8th month)	<i>Jumādā al-Ūlā</i> (5th month)
<i>Mfunguo tisa</i> (9th month)	<i>Jumādā al-Ākhira</i> (6th month)
<i>Rajab</i> (10th month)	<i>Rajab</i> (7th month)
<i>Shaabani</i> (11th month)	<i>Sha‘bān</i> (8th month)
<i>Ramadhani</i> (12th month)	<i>Ramaḍān</i> (9th month)

Location of *Zawiyas* in Zanzibar



Qadiriyya

2 Gomani
 4 Gomani
 8 Mkokotoni Shangani
 12 Kijini Matemwe
 13 Kijagi
 14 Kijagi Kidikoni
 15 Matemwe Kigomani
 16 Mbuyu Popo
 17 Mwangaseni
 18 Kilima Juu Matemwe
 19 ··· Kwapangaa Pwani Mchangani
 20 Kandwi
 21 Upenja
 22 Kinyasini Miyumoni
 24 Chaani
 27 Bumbwini Pangatupu
 28 Bumbwini Pangatupu
 29 Bumbwini Kiongwe
 30 · Bumbwini Batini (Kiramiiyya)
 32 Bumbwini Charahanini
 34 Bumbwini Langoni
 35 Bumbwini Mfenesini
 38 Mangapwani
 39 Mangapwani
 40 Chuini
 41 Mwembe Makumbi
 42 Biziredi
 43 Alimsha
 44 Kibanda Maiti
 45 Welezo (Ukutani)
 46 ··· Welezo (Msikiti Ngamia)
 47 Mchangani Shamba
 48 Tunduni
 49 Tunduni
 50 Tunduni
 51 Uzini
 52 Mgeni Haji
 53 Bambi
 54 Bambi
 55 Kitumba
 56 Umbuji
 57 Dunga
 58 Dunga
 59 Dunga
 60 Ndiyani
 61 Ndiyani
 62 Ndiyani
 63 Jendele

64 Hanyegwa Mchana
 65 Chwaka
 66 Marumbi
 67 Uroa
 68 Pongwe
 69 Michamvi Kae
 70 Bwejuu
 71 Paje
 72 Jambiani Dimbani
 73 Jambiani Mbuyuni
 74 ····· Jambiani Mwendawima
 75 Mtegani Makunduchi
 76 ····· Mumbini Makunduchi
 77 ····· Kajengwa Makunduchi
 78 ····· Kiongoni Makunduchi
 79 ····· Kibangoni Makunduchi
 80 Mtende
 81 Kibuteni
 82 Kizimkazi Dimbani
 83 Kizimkazi Mkongoni
 84 Muyuni
 85 Muyuni
 86 Kitogani
 87 Muungoni
 88 · Unguja Ukuu Tindini Ndogo
 89 Kubani
 90 Bungi Mchangani
 91 Bungi Ndani
 92 Kombeni Kichungwani
 93 Nyamani
 94 Dimani
 95 Dimani
 96 Bweleo
 98 Fumba
 100 Sertain
 101 Makadara
 104 Mlandege
 105 Mwembetanga
 108 Kisimamajongoo
 109 Kisiwandui
 110 Malindi
 111 Hamamuni
 112 Kiuyu
 114 Micheweni
 115 Maziwa Ngombe
 116 Tumbe
 117 Shumba
 118 Kojani
 119 Mchangandogo

120 Gombe Ume
 121 Ngezi
 122 Kigope
 123 Chambani
 124 Chwale
 125 Matele
 126 Kiwani
 127 Mwambe
 129 Kangani
 130 Chokocho
 131 Kisiwa cha Panza
 n/a Msiyakwe

Shadhiliyya

36 Bumbwini
 99 Chukwani
 103 Jang'ombeurusi
 106 Mwembetanga
 107 Vikokotoni

Naqshbandiyya

3 Gomani
 102 Makadara

Kigumi

5 Gomani
 6 Uvivini
 7 Jongowe
 10 Mbalungini
 37 Bumbwini

Kijiti

1 Kokoni
 9 Potowa
 97 Bweleo

Kirama

11 Tazari
 25 Chaani
 26 Donge Pangamaua
 31 Bumbwini Batini
 113 Mjini Kiuyu
 128 Mwambe Maongwi

Others

23 ····· Chaani Kikobweni (Saadiyya)
 33 ····· Bumbwini Mikweni (Barawiyya)

The Result of the Interview with the *tariqa* leaders of 50 *zawiyas*

The number of the place	2	3	4	5
A. The name of the <i>tariqa</i>	Qadiriyya	Nakshbandiyya	Qadiriyya(Bojhodari)	Kigumi
B. Location of the <i>zawiya</i>	Gomani	Gomani	Gomani	Gomani
C. Birth place of the leader	Gomani	Gomani	Gomani	Gomani
D. Leader's age	75	46	30	65
E. Birth place of the <i>zawiya</i>			Welezo	Donge Pangamaua
F. Year of establishment			100 years ago	150 years ago
G. <i>Silsila</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
H. Number of members	150	130	200	200
I. Location of activity outside the <i>zawiya</i>	open space	open space		open space
J. Religious activities	<i>Diwani</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Istimdhadi</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Istimdhadi</i> ; <i>Surat Shaafi</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>
K. Texts for the members		<i>Hijat Zakrina</i> (sic.); <i>Taibal Asmau</i> (sic.); texts for <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Manaakibul Qadiriyya</i>	<i>Jeushani</i> ; <i>Madihi</i> ; <i>Taibal Asmaan</i> (sic.)
L. Regular practices	✓ (Thursday)	×	✓ (Wednesday)	✓ (everyday)
M. <i>Ijaza</i> (related rituals)				
N. Leader's occupation				
O. Tasks of the leader				
P. Qur'anic school attached to the <i>zawiya</i>	✓	×	✓	✓
Q. Buildings of <i>wakfu</i> endowment	<i>zawiya</i>	×	<i>zawiya</i> ; Qur'anic school	<i>zawiya</i> ; Qur'anic school
R. Female leader				
S. Weddings	✓ (sometimes)	✓ (sometimes)	✓	✓
T. Birthdays			✓	✓
U. Funerals	✓	✓	✓	✓
V. <i>Arobaini</i> ¹⁾	×	×	✓	✓
W. <i>Hitima</i> ²⁾	×	×	✓	✓
X1. Annual events: date	Mfunguo 6 Mwezi ?; Shaabaani Mwezi 28	Mfunguo 6 Mwezi 13; Mrisho Mwezi ?; Ramadhani Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 15; Mfunguo 6 Mwezi 28	Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 12
X2. Annual events: <i>Maulidi ya Mutume Muhammad</i> ³⁾	✓	✓	✓	✓
X3. Annual events: <i>maulidi</i> of famous shaykhs	×	×	✓	✓
X4. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Fitr</i> (Ar: <i>'īd al-fītr</i>) ⁴⁾	✓	×	✓	✓
X5. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Hajj</i> (Ar: <i>'īd al-aḥḥā</i>) ⁵⁾	✓	×	✓	✓

1) The forty-day period of mourning

2) Reading of the whole Qur'an, especially during the period of mourning

3) The celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday

4) The festival following the fast of *Ramadhan*

8	12	13	14	15
Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
Mkokotoni Shangani	Kijini Matemwe	Kijagi	Kijagi Kidikoni	Matemwe Kigomani
Tanga	Kijini Matemwe	Kijagi	Kijagi Kidikoni	Matemwe Kigomani
38	62	48	60	35
		Kijagi		Shangani
		7 years ago	120 years ago	100 years ago
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
more than 1000	200	more than 50	100	160
open space; mosque	open space	open space	open space	mosque etc.
<i>Maulidi (Barzanje; Manaakibu; Jeilani ndogo; Jeilani Makubwa); Qasida; Zikri</i>	<i>Manaakibu; Maulidi Barzanje; Taratibu Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi Barzanje; Taratibu Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi Barzanje; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Qurani; Zikri</i>
<i>Jauhaal Nafisu; Kaifiyyat Majlis Zikri; Manaakibu; Siri Assilaali</i>	<i>Manaakibu</i>	many	many; <i>Taratibu Zikri</i> etc.	<i>Hojat Zikrina (sic.)</i>
✓ (Thursday; Sunday)	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Thursday)	×	×
✓ (a cup of water or milk)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓	✓ (a cup of water)
	farmer	farmer	farmer	
religious leader in a mosque	education of children	education of children on every Thursday		
✓	✓ (every Sunday)	✓	✓ (every Saturday and Sunday)	✓
<i>zawiya; Qur'anic school; mosque</i>	✓	×		×
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
×		×	×	×
×		×	×	×
✓		✓ (member)	✓	✓ (sometimes)
		✓ (member)		×
✓		✓ (member)	✓	×
Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 7	Mfunguo 3 Mwezi 14	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi ?	Rajabu Mwezi 12	20-25days/month
✓		×	×	✓
✓		×	✓	✓
✓		×	✓	✓
✓		×	✓	

the number of the place	16	17	18	19	20
A. The name of the <i>tariqa</i>	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
B. Location of the <i>zawiya</i>	Mbuyu Popo	Mwangaseni	Kilima Juu Matemwe	Kwapangaa Pwani Mchangani	Kandwi
C. Birth place of the leader	Mbuyu Popo	Mwangaseni	Kilima Juu Matemwe		Marwmwe
D. Leader's age	75	72	85		40
E. Birth place of the <i>zawiya</i>			Pwani Mchangani	Kidongo Chekundu	Mchangani Mile
F. Year of establishment	70 years ago		45 years ago	150 years ago	5 years ago
G. <i>Silsila</i>	?	×	✓	✓	✓
H. Number of members	more than 100	50-60	20-	more than 200	more than 200
I. Location of activity outside the <i>zawiya</i>	open space; mosque	open space	open space	open space	open space
J. Religious activities	<i>Qasida</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Dua</i> ; <i>Tawaassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Fatiha</i> ; <i>Maulidi</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi Barzanje</i> ; <i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Tafsiri</i>
K. Texts for the members	<i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Diwani</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Tawassuli</i>	unknown	<i>Taratibu Zikri</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i>
L. Regular practices	×	×	✓ (Sunday)	×	✓ (everyday)
M. <i>Ijaza</i> (related rituals)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water; handshake with shaykh)
N. Leader's occupation			farmer	farmer	farmer
O. Tasks of the leader					
P. Qur'anic school attached to the <i>zawiya</i>	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
Q. Buildings of <i>wakfu</i> endowment	×	?	Qur'anic school	<i>zawiya</i> ; mosque	×
R. Female leader	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S. Weddings	×	×	×	×	×
T. Birthdays	×	×	×	×	×
U. Funerals	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
V. <i>Arobaini</i>	×	×	×	×	✓
W. <i>Hitima</i>	✓	✓	×	×	×
X1. Annual events: date	10-20days/month; Mfunguo 3 Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 6 Mwezi ?; Mfunguo 1 Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 24	Mfunguo 6 Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 7 Mwezi 4
X2. Annual events: <i>Maulidi ya Mutume Muhammad</i>	✓	×	✓	✓	×
X3. Annual events: <i>maulidi</i> of famous shaykhs	✓	×	×	✓	×
X4. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Fitr</i> (Ar: 'id al-fitr)	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
X5. Annual events: <i>Idd -el-Hajj</i> (Ar: 'id al-aqdhā)			×	×	×

21	22	23	24	26	30
Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Saadiyya	Qadiriyya	Kirama	Qadiriyya(Kiramiyya)
Upenja	Kinyasini Miyumoni	Chaani Kikobweni	Chaani	Donge Pangamaua	Bumbwini Batini
Upenja	Kinyasini Miyumoni	Chaani Kikobweni	Chaani	Donge Pangamaua	
85	86	50	50		
Barestic Pande	Barestic Pande	unknown	Chaani	unknown	
about 150 years ago	200 years ago	80 years ago	100 years ago	unknown	
×	×	✓	✓	✓	
more than 20	more than 80	60	60	more than 2000	
open space	open space; mosque	no	open space	open space; mosque etc.	
<i>Maulidi Barzanje; Hitima; Tawassili</i>	<i>Maulidi; Hitima; Tafsiri; Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi; Qasida; Uradi; Zikri</i>		<i>Qasida; Zikri</i>	
<i>Diwani</i>	<i>Taratibu Zikri</i>	<i>Diwani; Maulidi Jeilani</i>	<i>Tawassuli; Maulidi Jeilani</i>	many	
×	✓ (Thursday; Sunday)	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Thursday)	
×	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of milk)	✓ (a cup of milk or water)	
education of Qur'an	farmer	government officer	farmer		sewing
education of Qur'an			education of Qur'an every Thursday		
×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
mosque; Qur'anic school	<i>zawiya</i>	✓	✓	mosque; Qur'anic school	×
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
×	×	×		×	
×	×	×		×	
×	✓	✓ (member)		✓	
×	×	×		✓	
×	×	×		✓	
Mfunguo 2 Mwezi 15	Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 24	Mfunguo 4 (Muharram) Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 4 Mwezi ?	5 times/year	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 10
×	×	×		✓	
×	✓	×		✓	
×	×	×		✓	
×	✓	×			

the number of the place	31	32	33	40	48
A. The name of the <i>tariqa</i>	Kirama	Qadiriyya	Barawiyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
B. Location of the <i>zawiya</i>	Bumbwini Batini	Bumbwini Charahanini	Bumbwini Mikweni	Chuini	Tunduni
C. Birth place of the leader	Bumbwini Batini		Bumbwini Mikweni	Muembeladu	
D. Leader's age	70		40	58	
E. Birth place of the <i>zawiya</i>	Donge		Chaani Kikobweni		
F. Year of establishment			about 90 years ago		
G. <i>Silsila</i>	×		✓		
H. Number of members	about 300		320	30	
I. Location of activity outside the <i>zawiya</i>	open space		open space etc.		
J. Religious activities	<i>Halili; Hitima; Maulidi; Zikri</i>		<i>Hitima; Maulidi Jeilani; Qasida; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>		
K. Texts for the members	<i>Tawassuli</i>		<i>Fedhat Rabani; Siri Assiraali; Zimaam Saaliki(sic.)</i>		
L. Regular practices			✓ (Wednesday; Thursday)	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Saturday)
M. <i>Ijaza</i> (related rituals)	×		✓ (a cup of water)		
N. Leader's occupation	farmer	farmer	farmer		farmer
O. Tasks of the leader		education of <i>Tariqa</i>			
P. Qur'anic school attached to the <i>zawiya</i>	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
Q. Buildings of <i>wakfu</i> endowment	×	Qur'anic school	<i>zawiya</i>	×	
R. Female leader	✓		✓		
S. Weddings	×		×		
T. Birthdays	×		×		
U. Funerals	✓		✓		
V. <i>Arobaini</i>	✓		✓		
W. <i>Hitima</i>	✓		×		
X1. Annual events: date	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 1	23 Mrisho	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 7	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 12	Shaabani Mwezi 11
X2. Annual events: <i>Maulidi ya Mutume Muhammad</i>	✓		×		
X3. Annual events: <i>maulidi</i> of famous shaykhs	×		✓		
X4. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Fitr</i> (Ar: 'īd al-fīṭr)	×		×		
X5. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Hajj</i> (Ar: 'īd al-aḍḥā)	×		×		

63	65	69	70	71	72
Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
Jendele	Chwaka	Michamvi Kae	Bwejuu	Paje	Jambiani Dimbani
		Michamvi Kae	Bwejuu	Paje	Jambiani Dimbani
		38	85	76	90
		Mchangani	Mchangani	unknown	
		about 100 years ago	more than 200 years ago	about 80 years ago	about 120 years ago
		✓	✓	✓	✓
		150	more than 200	more than 200	20
		open space	open space	open space	open space
		<i>Hitima; Maulidi Barzanje; Zikri</i>	educational activity (every Tuesday)	<i>Maulidi Barzanje; Hitima; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>
		<i>Manaakibu; Maulidi Jeilani</i>	<i>Manaakibu; Zimaam Salikiyya (sic.)</i>	<i>Fedhat Rabani; Manaakibu; Tafsuuli</i>	<i>Diwani</i>
✓ (Thursday)	×	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Wednesday)	✓ (Monday; Thursday)	×
		✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water; handshake with shaykh)	✓ (a cup of water)
farmer	jobless	teacher of Qur'anic school	merchant	jobless	jobless
		teacher of Qur'anic school			
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
×	×	✓ (mosque; Qur'anic school)	×	×	×
		✓	✓	✓	✓
		×	×	×	×
		×	×	×	×
		×	×	✓ (leader)	✓
		×	×	×	×
		×	×	×	×
Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 11	Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 12	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 24	Mfunguo2 Mwezi 12	Mfunguo 5 Mwezi 19	Rajabu Mwezi 7
		✓	×	×	×
		×	×	✓	✓
		✓	✓	✓	×
		✓	✓	✓	×

the number of the place	73	74	75	76
A. The name of the <i>tariqa</i>	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
B. Location of the <i>zawiya</i>	Jambiani Mbuyuni	Jambiani Mwendawima	Mtegani Makunduchi	Mumbini Makunduchi
C. Birth place of the leader	Jambiani Mbuyuni	Jambiani Mwendawima	Mtegani Makunduchi	Dar es Salaam
D. Leader's age	85	85	29	21
E. Birth place of the <i>zawiya</i>	Barasteck Panedi	Rahaleo		
F. Year of establishment	about 150 years ago	about 150 years ago		about 100 years ago
G. <i>Silsila</i>	burned	✓	✓	✓
H. Number of members	about 20	200	200	100
I. Location of activity outside the <i>zawiya</i>	open space	open space	many places	open space
J. Religious activities	<i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Manaakibu</i> ; <i>Maulidi Barzanje</i> ; <i>Tawassuli</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi (Barzanje; Jeilani)</i> ; <i>Manaakibu</i> ; <i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Zikri</i>
K. Texts for the members	<i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Tawhiid</i>	<i>Manaakibu</i>	<i>Hitima</i> ; <i>Manaakibu</i> ; <i>Maulidi (Barzanje; Jeilani)</i> ; texts for <i>Zikri</i>
L. Regular practices	×	×	✓ (Wednesday; Friday)	✓ (everyday)
M. <i>Ijaza</i> (related rituals)	✓ (a cup of water)	×	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)
N. Leader's occupation	farmer	farmer	farmer	
O. Tasks of the leader				
P. Qur'anic school attached to the <i>zawiya</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
Q. Buildings of <i>wakfu</i> endowment	✓ (<i>zawiya</i>)		✓ (<i>zawiya</i> ; open place)	✓ (mosque; Qur'anic school)
R. Female leader	✓	✓	✓	✓
S. Weddings	×			✓
T. Birthdays	×			×
U. Funerals	✓	✓ (member)	✓ (member)	✓
V. <i>Arobaini</i>	×	×	✓	✓
W. <i>Hitima</i>	×	×	✓	✓
X1. Annual events: date	Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 24	Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 27	Mfunguo2 Mwezi 25	Mfunguo 6 Mwezi 25
X2. Annual events: <i>Maulidi ya Mutume Muhammad</i>	×	×	✓	✓
X3. Annual events: <i>maulidi</i> of famous shaykhs	×	✓	✓	✓
X4. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Fitr</i> (Ar: 'īd al-ḥiṭr)	×	×	✓	×
X5. Annual events: <i>Idd-el-Hajj</i> (Ar: 'īd al-adḥā)	×	✓	×	×

77	78	79	80	81	82
Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya
Kajengwa Makunduchi	Kiongoni Makunduchi	Kibanguni Makunduchi	Mtende	Kibuteni	Kizimkazi Dimbani
Kajengwa Makunduchi	Kiongoni Makunduchi	Kibanguni Makunduchi	Mtende	Kibuteni	Kizimkazi Dimbani
88	62	62	59	51	47
Tunduni Muchangani	Kitumba	Mwembetanga	Kajengwaa Makunduchi	Rahareo	?
about 120 years ago	about 100 years ago	about 120 years ago	about 60 years ago	about 90 years ago	about 200 years ago
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
more than 200	about 60	more than 80	more than 100	390	100
open space	open space	open space	open space	open space	open space
<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi Barzanje; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi Barzanje; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Tawassuli</i>
many	<i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Tawassuli; Qasida</i>	<i>Diwani; Qasida za Zikri</i>	<i>Tawassuli</i>	<i>Tawassuli</i>
✓ (Monday; Wednesday)	✓ (Wednesday; Friday; Sunday)	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (everyday)	✓	×
✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	✓ (a cup of water)	×
jobless	farmer; teacher of Qur'anic school	farmer	police	shaykh	school teacher
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
✓ (zawiya; Qur'anic school)	✓ (zawiya; Qur'anic school)	✓ (zawiya; Qur'anic school; mosque)	✓ (Qur'anic school)	✓ (Qur'anic school)	✓ (open space)
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×		×	×	×
✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
×	×	✓	×	✓	×
✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
Mfunguo 1 Mwezi 15	Mfunguo 8 Mwezi 8	Mfunguo 4 Mwezi 14	Mfunguo 7 Mwezi 20	Mfunguo 7 Mwezi 14	Mfunguo 4 Mwezi 4
✓	×	✓	✓	×	×
×	✓	✓	×	×	×
✓	×	✓	×	×	×
✓	×	✓	×	×	×

the number of the place	83	88	92	101	113
A. The name of the <i>tariqa</i>	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Kigumi
B. Location of the <i>zawiya</i>	Kizimkazi Mkongoni	Unguja Ukuu Tindini Ndogo	Kombeni Kichungwani	Makadara	Mjini Kiuyu
C. Birth place of the leader	Kizimkazi Mkongoni			Makadara	
D. Leader's age	87			26	35
E. Birth place of the <i>zawiya</i>	Barasteck Panedi(mjini)				
F. Year of establishment				about 200 years ago	
G. <i>Silsila</i>	✓				✓
H. Number of members	more than 100			4000	500
I. Location of activity outside the <i>zawiya</i>				open space	open space
J. Religious activities	<i>Hitima; Maulidi; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>			<i>Dufu; Hitima; Maulidi (Barzanje; Jeilani; Manaakibu; Nabii); Tawassuli; Zikri</i>	<i>Maulidi; Qurani; Zikri</i>
K. Texts for the members	<i>Fiyuuzatun Rabbaaniyya</i>				
L. Regular practices	✓ (Wednesday; Friday)		✓	✓ (Thursday)	✓ (Thursday; Saturday)
M. <i>Ijaza</i> (related rituals)	✓ (a cup of water)			✓ (a cup of milk or water)	
N. Leader's occupation	teacher of Qur'anic school and mosque	farmer		teacher of Qur'anic school	to build houses
O. Tasks of the leader				teacher of Qur'anic school	
P. Qur'anic school attached to the <i>zawiya</i>	✓	×	✓	✓	✓
Q. Buildings of <i>wakfu</i> endowment	✓ (<i>zawiya</i> ; Qur'anic school; mosque)	×	×	✓ (<i>zawiya</i> ; mosque)	✓ (two Qur'anic school)
R. Female leader					
S. Weddings				×	✓
T. Birthdays					
U. Funerals	✓ (member)			✓ (member)	×
V. <i>Arobaini</i>	✓ (member)			✓ (member)	×
W. <i>Hitima</i>	✓ (member)			✓ (member)	×
X1. Annual events: date	Mfunguo 2 Mwezi 8	Mfunguo 7 Mwezi 6	Mfunguo 3 Mwezi 15	Mfunguo 5 Mwezi 13; Mfunguo 6 Mwezi 11; Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 14	
X2. Annual events: <i>Maulidi ya Mutume Muhammad</i>	×			✓	✓
X3. Annual events: <i>maulidi</i> of famous shaykhs	×			✓	✓
X4. Annual events: <i>Idd -el-Fitr</i> (Ar: 'id al-fitr)	×			✓	✓
X5. Annual events: <i>Idd -el-Hajj</i> (Ar: 'id al-adhā)	×			✓	✓

120	121	127	128
Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Qadiriyya	Kirama
Gombe Ume	Qadiriyya ya Ngezi	Kiribani	Mwambe Maongwi
	Chambiani; Pemba	Kiribani	Mwambe Maongwi
	70	87	36
	Chwaka (Pemba)		Tumbatu
			about 60 years ago
	unknown		✓
	more than 50		100
	open space; mosque		open space
	<i>Halili; Hitima; Maulidi Barzanje; Tawassuli; Zikri</i>		<i>Halili; Maulidi (Barzanje etc.); Zikri(Kirama)</i>
	<i>Tawassuli</i>		<i>Maulidi Barzanje</i>
✓ (Thursday; Monday)	✓ (Saturday)	✓	✓ (Friday)
	✓ (a cup of water)		
sewing; farmer		farmer	farmer; teacher of Qur'anic school
			teacher of Qur'anic school
✓	✓	✓	✓
×	✓ (Qur'anic school; mosque)		✓ (zawiya; mosque)
	×		
	×		
	×		✓
	×		✓
	×		✓
Mfunguo 4 Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 7 Mwezi ?	Mfunguo 4 Mwezi 11	Mfunguo 9 Mwezi 27
	×		✓
	×		✓
	×		✓
	×		✓